TWO LECTURES

ON THE

'SAYINGS OF JESUS'

RECENTLY

DISCOVERED AT OXYRHYNCHUS

DELIVERED AT OXFORD ON OCT. 23, 1897

BY THE

REV. WALTER LOCK, D.D.

DEAN IRELAND'S PROFESSOR OF THE EXEGESIS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

AND THE

REV. WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D.

LADY MARGARET PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

BS
2970
L62
1897
GTU
Storage

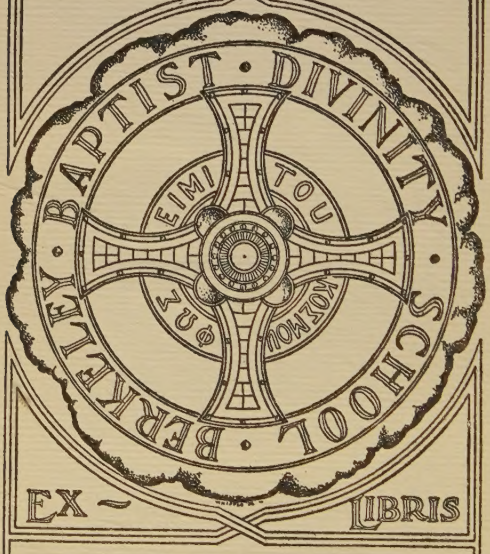
Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1897

Price One Shilling and Sixpence net

THE
SANDFORD FLEMING
LIBRARY



EX — LIBRIS

Accession No. _____

Date _____

TWO LECTURES

ON THE

'SAYINGS OF JESUS'

RECENTLY

DISCOVERED AT OXYRHYNCHUS

DELIVERED AT OXFORD ON OCT. 23, 1897

BY THE

REV. WALTER LOCK, D.D.

DEAN IRELAND'S PROFESSOR OF THE EXEGESIS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

AND THE

REV. WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D.

LADY MARGARET PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY 1962

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1897

8
S
970
62
97

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

BERKELEY BAPTIST DIVINITY SCHOOL

CONTENTS

PAGE

I. Bibliography 5

II. Text, with Emendations and Illustrations . 7

III. Interpretation of the Text 15

IV. History and Origin of the Sayings . . 29

34024

I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Λόγια Ἰησοῦ, Sayings of Our Lord: *ed. princeps*: June, 1897.
Spectator, July 17 and 24 (review).
Speaker, July 17 (review).
Guardian, July 21 (review, [W. Lock]: letter, H. C. Leonard).
†*New York Independent*, July 22, B. W. Bacon [Rendel Harris].
British Review, July 24 (review).
Athenaeum, July 24 (letter: V. Bartlet).
Saturday Review, July 24 (review).
Guardian, July 28 (letter: N. Herz).
C. Clemen, 'Neugefundene Jesusworte?' *Die Christliche Welt*, July 29 (containing also some conjectural emendations by Prof. Fr. Blass).
H. B. Swete, 'The Oxyrhynchus Fragment.' A lecture delivered at Cambridge on July 29. *Expository Times*, September.
Academy, July 31 (review).
Literary World, July 31 (review).
A. Harnack, 'Ueber die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu.' Freiburg i. B. August. (Translated in the *Expositor*, November and December.)
M. R. James, 'The New Sayings of Christ.' *Contemporary Review*, August.
Guardian, Aug. 4 (letter: J. Quarry).
†*Les Études*, Aug. 5. P. Durand.
Record, Aug. 6 (letters: A.L.M., H. C. Brown).
Whitehall Review, Aug. 7 (review).
Athenaeum, Aug. 7 (letter: F. P. Badham).
Guardian, Aug. 11 (letters: W. Lock, W. E. Barnes).
Scarborough Post, Aug. 12 (lectures by B. P. Grenfell and J. Rendel Harris).

Reviews marked with a † are quoted at second hand and have not been seen by us.

†*The Independent*, Aug. 12, 16, 19, 26 (letters: A. C. McGiffert, J. H. Thayer). [*American Journal of Theology.*]

British Weekly, Aug. 12 (letters: A. Henderson, J. Paul).

Literarisches Centralblatt, Aug. 14 (review: G. Kr[üger]).

†E. Jacquier, 'Les Sentences de Jésus récemment découvertes.' *L'Université Catholique*, Aug. 15.

Guardian, Aug. 18 (letter: A. S. Thomson).

Deutsche Literaturzeitung, Aug. 21 (review: O. v. Gebhardt).

†*The Congregationalist*, Boston, Aug. 19 (review: J. H. Ropes).

Theologische Literaturzeitung, Aug. 21 (review: G. Heinrici).

Guardian, Aug. 25 ('Prof. Harnack on the newly-found Logia,' W. Lock. Letters: B. Moffatt, T. G. Cree).

Guardian, Sept. 1 (letter: A. N. Claye).

The New World, September (review: F. A. Christie).

H. A. Redpath, 'The so-called Logia and their relation to the Canonical Scriptures.' *Expositor*, September.

J. Rendel Harris, 'The Logia and the Gospels.' *Contemporary Review*, September.

Sir E. M. Thompson, 'The Sayings of Our Lord.' *Sunday at Home*, September.

W. M. Flinders Petrie, 'The Harvest from Egypt.' *Leisure Hour*, September.

T. Z(ahn), 'Die jüngst gefundenen Aussprüche Jesu.' *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, Sept. 3 and 10.

Theologisch Tijdschrift, September (review: W. C. v. M[anen]).

Presbyterian and Reformed Review, October (review: G. T. Purves).

J. Lataix, 'Une nouvelle série d'Agraphes.' *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuse*, September-October.

J. A. Cross, 'The Sayings of Jesus.' *Expositor*, October.

D. R. J., 'Sentences de Jésus.' *Revue Bénédictine*, October.

P. Batiffol, 'Les Logia du Papyrus de Behnesa.' *Revue Biblique*, October.

Berliner Wochenschrift für classische Philologie, Oct. 20 (review: J. Draeseke).

Egypt Exploration Fund, Annual report, October, B. P. Grenfell.

Church Quarterly Review, October (review).

G. F. Wright, 'The New Sayings of Jesus.' *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct. 1897.

Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature, October (review).

II

TEXT, WITH EMENDATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

In regard to the numbering of the Logia we have decided, after some hesitation, to keep to that of the *editio princeps*. The combination of Logia III and IV, adopted independently by Dr. Harnack and Dr. Swete, is attractive; and if a change was to be made, it would have been better that it should be made at once. But though attractive, the combination of the two Sayings is by no means certain, and it seems on the whole best to adhere to the original numeration.

The names in square brackets attached to the illustrative texts other than Biblical are those of the writers by whom they were first adduced.

I. [Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἔκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου] καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

Lc. vi. 42 (TR) *ἔκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.* [. . . *καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκβαλεῖν* WH *cum* B, 13–69–124–346–556 (=543 Greg.; cf. Scrivener, *Adversaria*, p. 32) 604 (=700 Greg.; cf. Hoskier, *Collations, &c.*, p. 28).] Cf. Mt. vii. 5 *ἔκβαλε πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου τὴν δοκόν, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.*

II. Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τοῦ κόσμου, οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα.

νηστευσηται Cod. *μὴ νηστεύσητε*: *μνηστεύσητε* Kipp. *ap.* Zahn: *μισήσητε* v. Gebhardt. *τον κοσμον* Cod.: *τοῦ κόσμου* Gifford, Lock, *al.*: *τῷ κόσμῳ* Harnack

(p. 13): εἰς τὸν κόσμον (*coll.* Es. lviii. 4) Redpath : ἕως τῶν δυσμῶν *Acad.* : τοῦ κοινοῦ Quarry. ευρηται Cod.

Es. lviii. 6–14, *praesertim* 6–9 οὐχὶ τοιαύτην νηστείαν ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην, λέγει Κύριος, ἀλλὰ λῦε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας, διάλυε στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων, ἀπόστελλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, καὶ πᾶσαν συγγραφὴν ἄδικον διάσπα. διάθρυπτε πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου, καὶ πτωχοὺς ἀστέγους εἴσαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου· ἐὰν ἴδῃς γυμνόν, περίβαλε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψῃ. τότε ῥαγήσεται πρόιμον τὸ φῶς σου, καὶ τὰ ἰάματά σου ταχὺ ἀνατελεῖ, καὶ προπορεύσεται ἔμπροσθέν σου ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου, καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ περιστελεῖ σε· τότε βοήσῃ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς εἰσακούσεταί σου, ἔτι λαλοῦντός σου ἐρεῖ Ἰδοὺ πάρειμι. et 13, 14 ἐὰν ἀποστρέψῃς ἀπὸ τῶν σαββάτων τὸν πόδα σου τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ θελήματά σου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ, καὶ καλέσεις τὰ σάββατα τρυφερά, ἅγια τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὸν πόδα σου ἐπ' ἔργῳ, οὐδὲ λαλήσεις λόγον ἐν ὀργῇ ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου, καὶ ἔσῃ πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ Κύριον, καὶ ἀναβιβάσει σε ἐπὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ψωμιεῖ σε τὴν κληρονομίαν Ἰακὼβ τοῦ πατρός σου.

Jo. v. 16–17 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδίωκον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι ταῦτα ἐποίει ἐν σαββάτῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, Ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, κἀγὼ ἐργάζομαι.

Lc. xiv. 33 οὕτως οὖν πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὃς οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν, οὐ δύναταί μου εἶναι μαθητής.

Acta Pauli et Theclae § 5, p. 42 ed. Tischendorf [Heinrici] μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοῖς λαλήσει ὁ θεός. μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ εὐθεῖς κληθήσονται.

Pistis Sophia, p. 157 [250] (ed. Petermann) [Grenfell-Hunt] ἀποτάσσετε κόσμῳ toti et ὕλῃ toti cf. p. 160 ff. [254 ff.].

Addit. Cod. Bezae *ad* Luc. vi. 5 [Zahn] Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.

Justin *Dial. c. Tryph.* 12 [Grenfell-Hunt] Σαββατίζειν ὑμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διὰ παντὸς ἐθέλει, καὶ ὑμεῖς μίαν ἀργοῦντες ἡμέραν εὐσεβεῖν δοκεῖτε, μὴ νοοῦντες διὰ τί ὑμῖν προσετάγη . . . εἴ τις ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπίορκος ἢ κλέπτης, παυσάσθω· εἴ τις μοιχός, μετανοησάτω, καὶ σεσαββάτικε τὰ τρυφερὰ καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα τοῦ θεοῦ.

Cf. c. 15 *καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ νηστείαν μάθετε νηστεύειν, ὡς Ἡσαΐας φησίν, ἵνα τῷ θεῷ εὐαρεστῆτε.*

Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 15, § 99, 556 P. [*British Review*: *Guardian*: J. B. Mayor *ap.* Rendel Harris] *Εὐνοῦχος τοίνυν οὐχ ὁ κατηναγκασμένος τὰ μόρια οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ ἄγαμος εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄγονος ἀληθείας. "ξύλον" οὗτος "ξηρὸν" ἦν πρότερον, ὑπακούσας δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ "φυλάξας τὰ σάββατα" κατὰ ἀποχὴν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ ποιήσας τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐντιμότερος ἔσται τῶν ἄνευ πολιτείας ὀρθῆς λόγῳ μόνῳ παιδευομένων . . . διὰ τοῦτο "οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εὐνοῦχος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν θεοῦ" ὁ ἄγονος καὶ ἄκαρπος καὶ πολιτείᾳ καὶ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' "οἱ μὲν εὐνουχίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς" ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας "διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν" μακάριοι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες.*

Ib. vii. 12, § 76, p. 877 P. [Rendel Harris] *Νηστεύει τοίνυν καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τῶν φαύλων καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τελειότητα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐννοιῶν τῶν πονηρῶν . . . οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενος κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅταν ἀποβάλλῃ φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἐπιστημονικοῦ θεωρήματος κατάληψιν λάβῃ, τὸν κύριον ὁρᾶν νομίζει, τὰς ὄψεις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀόρατα χειραγωγῶν.*

Clem. Al. *Ecl. Proph.* § 14, p. 992 P. [J. B. Mayor *ap.* Rendel Harris] *ἡ νηστεία ἀποχὴ τροφῆς ἐστι κατὰ τὸ σημαινόμενον, τροφὴ δε οὐδὲν δικαιοτέρους ἡμᾶς ἢ ἀδικωτέρους ἀπεργάζεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μυστικὸν δηλοῖ ὅτι ὥσπερ τοῖς καθ' ἕνα ἐκ τροφῆς ἡ ζωή, ἡ δὲ ἀτροφία θανάτου σύμβολον, οὕτως καὶ ἡμᾶς τῶν κοσμικῶν νηστεύειν χρή, ἵνα τῷ κόσμῳ ἀποθάνωμεν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τροφῆς θείας μεταλαβόντες θεῷ ζήσωμεν.*

III. IV (= III. Harnack, Swete). Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἔ[σ]την ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εὗρον διψῶντα ἐν αὐτοῖς· καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοί εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶ[ν] καὶ [οὐ] βλέ[πουσιν, πτωχοὶ καὶ οὐκ οἴδασιν τ]ὴν πτωχίαν.

σαρκει Cod. *δειψωντα* Cod. *και . . βλεις vel β. ε . .* Cod.: *καὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν οὐδὲ γινώσκουσιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν πτωχίαν* Swete: *ἀμβλεῖς* Blass *ap.* Clemen:

ἀμβλεῖς τῷ νόι Zahn: ἀμβλεῖς τῇ διανοίᾳ οὐκ οἴδασιν αὐτῶν τὴν πτωχίαν (*coll.* Apoc. iii. 17) Lock: ἀμβλεῖς μὴ γεινώσκοιντες (*coll.* Log. VI. γεινωσκοντας Mt. i. 15 *et passim* Cod. B *al.*) ἑαυτῶν τὴν πτωχίαν Sanday: καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ ἀκοῇ αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ διώκετε τὴν πτωχίαν (*coll.* 2 Cor. viii. 9) Heinrici: καὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν, πτωχοὶ καὶ οὐκ οἴδασιν τὴν πτωχίαν Cross.

Baruc. iii. 34 [Grenfell-Hunt] μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστράφη. (Cf. Iren. IV. xx. 4. Cyprian, *Test.* ii. 6.)

1 Tim. iii. 16 ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις.

Es. lv. 1 οἱ διψῶντες πορεύεσθε ἐφ' ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἀργύριον βαδίσαντες ἀγοράσατε.

Mt. v. 6 μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην· ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.

Jo. iv. 13, 14 ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ, Πᾶς ὁ πίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου διψήσει πάλιν· ὃς δ' ἂν πίῃ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Jo. vii. 37 Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς εἱστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἔκραξε λέγων, Ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρός με καὶ πινέτω.

Apoc. xxi. 6 ἐγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν.

Apoc. xxii. 17 ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω.

Apoc. iii. 17 λέγεις ὅτι Πλούσιός εἰμι, καὶ πεπλούτηκα, καὶ οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω, καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ταλαίπωρος καὶ ἐλεεινὸς καὶ πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός.

Evang. Apocr. *ap.* Orig. *in Mt.* xiii. 2 (ed. Lommatsch. iii. 214) [James, Batiffol]. καὶ Ἰησοῦς γοῦν φησί, διὰ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἠσθένουν καὶ διὰ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐπείνων καὶ διὰ τοὺς διψῶντας ἐδίψων.

Pistis Sophia, p. 232 [372] (ed. Petermann) [James] Vae iis, vae iis, filiis hominum, quod erunt sicut caeci palpantes in caligine, haud videntes. Miserere nostri, domine, in hac magna caecitate, in qua sumus.

Es. liii. 10 *βούλεται κύριος ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ.*

Ephr. Syr. *Evang. Concord. Expositio*, c. 17 (ed. Moesinger, p. 203) [Heinrici]. Dixit, *Quamdiu vobiscum ero et vobiscum loquar?* et alio loco: *Taedet me de generatione ista.* Cf. Mc. ix. 19.

IV. *Vide supra.*

V (= VI. Harnack, Swete). [Λέγ]ει [Ἰησοῦς, Ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ὦσιν [β̄, οὐκ ε[ἰσὶν ἄ]θεοι, καὶ [εἷ] πο[γ] ε[ἷς] ἐστιν μόνος [λέ]γω ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτ[οῦ]· ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον, κἀκεῖ εὑρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον, κἀγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμί.

> . . ου εαν ωσιν . . . . ε . . . . . *θεοι vel αθεοι legere sibi visi sunt* edd. pr.: *ὅπου ἐὰν ὦσιν β̄, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθεοι* Blass (*ap.* Clemen): *ὅπου ἐὰν ὦσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθεοι* Harnack (*coll.* Eph. ii. 12 *χωρὶς Χριστοῦ . . . καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*): *ὅπ. ἐ. ὦ. ἄνδρες καὶ ἄθεοι* Cross: *ὅπ. ἐ. ὦσιν δύο, ἐκεῖ . . .* (?) *οι* Heinrici: *ὅπ. ἐ. ὦ. πάντες μισόθεοι* Swete: *ὅπ. ἐ. ὦ. οἱ λεγόμενοι θεοί* Redpath: *ὅπ. ἐ. ὦ. ὁμοῦ ἔνιοι ἄθεοι* v. Gebhardt. . . σο . ε . . Cod., *sed parum certe*: *εἴ που εἷς* Clemen, Cross, *al.*: *πιστὸς εἷς* Swete: *καὶ ὅσιος εἷς* v. Gebhardt: *ὥσπερ εἷς* Harnack: *ἐγώ. οὗ εἷς* Heinrici. . . τω Cod. (edd. pr.; . . γω Blass): *λέγω* Blass, Redpath, Cross: *αὐτῷ* Clemen (*coll.* Hebr. *lebaddo*): *αὐτῷ* Zahn: *ἰδού* Swete: *ἐκεῖ* Heinrici: *οὕτω* Harnack: *αὐτοῦ* (= *ἐκεῖ*) v. Gebhardt: *ζήτω* Badham. *ἔγειρον*: *ἐξᾶρον* Harnack (*coll.* Eccl. x. 9, *vid. inf.*).

Mt. xviii. 20 *οὗ γάρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.*

Jo. xiv. 20 *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γνώσεσθε ὑμεῖς ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρί μου, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ἐμοί, κἀγὼ ἐν ὑμῖν.*

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 10, § 68, p. 542 P. *τίνες δὲ οἱ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ συναγόμενοι, παρ' οἷς μέσος ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος; ἢ οὐχὶ ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνον τοὺς τρεῖς λέγει; ὅτι "ἀνδρὶ γυνὴ διὰ θεοῦ ἁρμόζεται"· ἀλλὰ κἂν εὔζωνός*

τις εἶναι θέλῃ, οὐχ αἱρούμενος τὴν παιδοποιίαν διὰ τὴν ἐν παιδοποιίᾳ ἀσχολίαν, "μενέτω," φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, "ἄγαμος ὡς κἀγώ." βούλεσθαι γὰρ λέγειν τὸν κύριον ἐξηγοῦνται μετὰ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων τὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι τὸν γενεσιουργὸν θεόν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ τὸν σωτῆρα, ἄλλου δηλονότι θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ υἱὸν πεφυκότα. τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν καὶ μετὰ τῶν σωφρόνως γημάντων καὶ τεκνοποιησάντων ὁ θεὸς δι' υἱοῦ, ἔστι δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐγκρατευσαμένου λογικῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ὡσαύτως θεός.

Ephr. Syr. *Evang. Concord. Expos.* c. 14 (ed. Moesinger p. 164; cf. Resch, *Agrapha* p. 295, Ropes, *Sprüche Jesu* p. 48) [Grenfell-Hunt]. Sicut in omnibus indigentiis gregi suo Christus consuluit, ita et vitam solitariam agentes in hac tristi conditione consolatus est dicens: *Ubi unus est, ibi et ego sum*, ne quisquam ex solitariis contristaretur, quia ipse est gaudium nostrum et ipse nobiscum est. *Et ubi duo sunt, ibi et ego ero*, quia misericordia et gratia eius nobis obumbrat. *Et quando tres sumus, quasi in ecclesiam coimus*, quae est corpus Christi perfectum et imago eius expressa.

Eccl. x. 9 *ἐξαίρων λίθους διαπονηθήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς,*
σχίζων ξύλα κινδυνεύσει ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Hab. ii. 11 *διότι λίθος ἐκ τοίχου βοήσεται καὶ κάνθαρος ἐκ ξύλου φθέγξεται αὐτά.*

Ps. cxxxviii. (cxxxix.) 7, 8 *ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου; καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου ποῦ φύγω; ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, σὺ ἐκεῖ εἶ· ἐὰν καταβῶ εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, πάρει.* Eph. i. 23 *τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.* Gal. ii. 20 *ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός.*

Evang. Gnosticum (*fort.* Evae), *ap.* Epiph. *Haer.* xxvi. 3 [Grenfell-Hunt] *ἐγὼ σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγώ· καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν ᾖς ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμί. καὶ ἐν ἅπασίν εἰμι ἐσπαρμένος, καὶ ὅθεν ἐὰν θέλῃς συλλέγεις με, ἐμὲ δὲ συλλέγων ἑαυτὸν συλλέγεις.*

Mart. Petri, x. (p. 98 ed. Lipsius) [Zahn] *σὺ τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐν σοί· καὶ τὸ ὂν σύ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο ὃ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ μόνος σύ* (*haec ad Christum referuntur*). *Act. Joh.* xi. (p. 12, ed. James) [Zahn] *τόπον οὐκ ἔχω καὶ τόπους ἔχω* (*Christus loquitur*).

Ep. Joh. Apocr. ap. Pseudo-Cypr. *De Mont. Sin. et Sion* xiii. [Heinrici] Ita me in vobis videte, quomodo quis vestrum se videt in aquam aut in speculum.

VI (= V. Harnack, Swete). Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Οὔκ ἐστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτ[ο]ῦ, οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γεινώσκοντας αὐτόν.

γεινωσκοντας Cod.: *γιν-, ed. pr. rell.* (*vid. ad* Log. III).

Mt. xiii. 57 *οὐκ ἐστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ* [*om.* WH] *καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.*

Lc. iv. 24 *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ.*

Joh. iv. 44 *αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι προφήτης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει.*

Lc. iv. 23 *πάντως ἐρεῖτέ μοι τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην, Ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν.*

VII (= VI. Harnack, Swete). Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Πόλις οἰκοδομημένη ἐπ᾽ ἄκρον [ὄ]ρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηριγμένη οὔτε πε[ϲ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ[β]ῆναι.

οἰκοδ. Cod., Swete (*coll.* Winer-Schmiedel *Gramm.* § 12. 5; *vid. etiam* Meisterhans *Gramm. d. att. Inschrift.* § 62. 16): *ᾠκοδ. ed. pr. rell.* *ὑψηλους* Cod. (*sed ut videtur voluit scriba delere* s).

Mt. v. 14 *οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη.*

Mt. vii. 24–25 *ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι, καὶ προσέπεσον τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσε· τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.*

Lectionem *οἰκοδομημένη* *pro* *κειμένη* *apud* Mt. v. 14 *antiquam esse testantur verss. syrr.* (Lew. Cur. Pesh.; *non autem* Harcl. Hieros.), Tatian. *Diatess.* viii. 41 [Grenfell-Hunt] Hil. *ad loc.* non potest civitas abscondi supra montem aedificata [Swete]: cf. *Clem. Hom.* iii. 67 *χρὴ οὖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὡς πόλιν ἐν ὕψει ᾠκοδομημένην φιλόθεον ἔχειν τάξιν καὶ διοίκησιν καλήν.* [Harnack.]

VIII (= VII. Harnack, Swete). Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἀκούεις [ε]ἰς τὸ ἓ[ν ὠ]τίον σου, τὸ [δὲ ἕτερον ἔβυσας].

ἀκούεις Cod. ἃ *ἀκούεις* Zahn, v. Gebhardt. . ι̣σ̣τ̣ο̣ε̣ . . τ̣ιον Cod.: *εἰς τὸ ἐνώπιον conj.* edd. pr. *εἰς τὸ ἐνώτιον* (Swete): *εἰς τὸ ἓν ὠτίον* (Taylor *ap.* Swete, Zahn, v. Gebhardt): *εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου* Badham. τ̣ο̣ . . . *fort.* Cod.: *τὸ δὲ ἕτερον συνέκλεισας* Swete: *τ. δ. ἕ. ἔβυσας* Lock, Sanday: *τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ παρακούεις* Sanday (*coll. Act. Joh.* xvii. p. 24 ed. James): *τὸ δεξιόν* Zahn.

III

INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT

[W. Lock]

The time seems to have come when it is worth while to take stock of the progress of the criticism and interpretation of the Sayings attributed to our Lord, which were edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt at the end of the Summer Term; and I had determined to give a public lecture on them this term, when Dr. Sanday made the welcome suggestion that we might combine for the purpose. We are therefore jointly responsible for the revised text, the critical apparatus, the illustrations, and the bibliography which are in your hands, but we have as far as possible divided the treatment of the subject, and each lecturer is singly responsible for the opinions expressed in his lecture.

The interpretation of the Sayings falls to me, and I have only a few remarks to make that pass beyond its scope. In the first place, the bibliography is professedly not complete, but we have attempted to include within it any letter or review which made any independent contribution to the discussion; for those who wish to study the subject further it will be well to indicate as the most important contributions—first and foremost the *editio princeps*, in which the careful decipherment of the text and the cautious wisdom of the notes have been recognized universally both in England and on the Continent, and after that the lecture of the Regius Professor of Divinity at

Cambridge, the monograph of Prof. Harnack, and the reviews of Clemen, Heinrici, and Zahn in Germany, and those of Dr. James, Mr. Rendel Harris, and Mr. Cross in England, and of M. Batiffol in the *Revue Biblique*.

Further, there are two points on which I would enter a caveat,— a caveat which the history of the discussion seems to render necessary. I think first that we should sit loosely to the exact title Λόγια; I do not say that it is wrong, but we need to remember that it has no authority as the title of this document; many will think it a very probable suggestion, but considering that the phrase Λόγια Ἰησοῦ never occurs, that the phrase λόγια or τὰ λόγια with Θεοῦ or τοῦ Κυρίου or Κυριακά most frequently seems to mean both in the first and second centuries *either* the Old Testament *or* the whole Gospel message[1], and considering such passages as Acts xx. 35, Apoc. xxi. 5, Clem. Rom. xiii.[2], and the πιστοὶ λόγοι of the Pastoral Epistles, it seems to me at least as probable that the real title was Λόγοι Ἰησοῦ. At any rate if Λόγια is right, 'Sayings' is scarcely an adequate translation; 'Solemn Utterances' or 'Oracles' would better reproduce the authoritative associations of the word.

Again, it needs to be remembered that in estimating the genuineness and authority of the Sayings, each may claim the right of being judged separately on its own merits; they may have been collected from various sources of quite unequal value; and as the admitted genuineness of the first does not carry with it that of the others, so the great difficulty of supposing the third to have been spoken by our Lord does not necessarily affect the second or the fourth.

[1] Λόγια: Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11; Clem. Rom. xix; Papias *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39; Clem. Alex. *Quis dives salv.* 3. p. 936; Iren. 1, praef. 1 and I. viii. 1. In Resch's *Agrapha* the word occurs only twice (Log. 45. p. 128, and Apocr. 59. p. 433), in each case apparently meaning the Old Testament.

[2] Acts xx. 35 μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε, Μακάριόν ἐστι μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν: Apoc. xxi. 5 οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί εἰσι: Clem. Rom. xiii μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν.

This would be otherwise if we could trace any connexion of thought between the various Sayings; and at first I was inclined to find such a link in the idea of the separation of the disciples from the world, or in the thought of true spiritual vision. Mr. Bartlet and Mr. Badham have both attempted to trace a similar connexion, the former treating the fragment as part of a 'Manual for Enquirers and Catechumens,' the latter as a series of extracts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, quoted in some hortatory work by an ascetic of the Thebaid. Mr. Redpath treated them as Sayings drawn up to serve as grounds of accusation against our Lord. But I doubt whether any of these is more than an arbitrary fancy: the quick interchange of person, *διαβλέψεις, νηστεύσητε, ἐὰν ὦσιν, ἔγειρον, ἀκούεις*, is against such a connexion; as also the fact that some Sayings seem addressed to disciples, others to unbelievers.

I pass to the interpretation, and it is right to consider first one of the most difficult points. How are we to interpret the phrase 'Jesus says,' which introduces, or perhaps concludes[1], each Saying? why the simple personal name 'Jesus'? why the present tense? It is conceivable that the historic name *Jesus* should be used as an antithesis to the names of other teachers; that the earlier part of the book contained sayings of Plato, Moses, Isaiah, &c.: this would be possible in the syncretistic atmosphere of Egypt; but on the whole it is more probable to see in it only the work of a simple Christian. But the combination *λέγει Ἰησοῦς* is rare even in the Gospels: in Resch's collection of Agrapha the exact phrase never occurs, though we once have in Origen *Ἰησοῦς γοῦν φησίν* (Log. 47. p. 129). The usage then needs explanation, and four suggestions have been made to explain it. (i) It may correspond to the frequent use of the present in quotations, as in *λέγει ἡ γραφή*, κ.τ.λ., where the writer is quoted as a present witness to the truth (Dr. Swete). But this is not appro-

[1] So von Gebhardt and others, quoting Jer. i. 8, 17, ii. 2, 3, 12, 22, 29; but the analogy is not quite exact.

priate in a disconnected series of Sayings which are not apparently illustrative of any one truth. (ii) The word λέγει is extracted with the Saying from some narrative Gospel; it was there an historical present, and the writer has taken it over as it stood (Zahn). This is ingenious, but it is not likely that λέγει should have occurred *uniformly* in a narrative. (iii) The present has a *mystical* force; the past Saying of the Lord still speaks and speaks with an authoritative tone, somewhat akin to Cowper's line, 'Jesus speaks and speaks to thee'; or we might compare the touching paragraph in Dr. Pusey's *Life*: 'When his son Philip died he rarely expressed himself as if they were separated. "Philip says" was a more frequent form of quoting the departed than "Philip used to say"' (*Life of Dr. Pusey*, iv. p. 378). This would account for the personal name 'Jesus' as well as for the present. The collection would then be parallel to the collections of the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, but faith in the risen Lord causes the formula to run 'Jesus says,' not 'Jesus said,' as the analogy of 'Hillel said' or 'Hillel used to say' would have suggested. (iv) There is a simpler explanation, that the present tense is used because Jesus was still present; that these are extracts from some notes made by a disciple in the lifetime of Jesus. It seems to me that the choice lies between these two last explanations: the last is the most natural, but it is difficult to apply it to the third Logion, so that perhaps we ought to prefer the penultimate view. We should paraphrase then, 'this is a saying of Jesus'; 'this was said by Jesus in his lifetime and is still the utterance of him who is still a living Master.'

We pass to the detailed Sayings.

I. The first Saying, '**And then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote which is in thy brother's eye,**' is obviously a fragment. We have completed it from St. Luke's Gospel, as it corresponds more closely with it than with St. Matthew; but it is to be noted that in the

position of ἐκβαλεῖν it supports the Textus Receptus as against WH., who follow B and the Ferrar group of MSS. (to which 556 also belongs) and one other important cursive.

II. Jesus says, '**Except ye fast from the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and unless ye keep the Sabbath as a Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.**'

The first difficulty here lay in the construction νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον, to which no analogy has been produced. Attempts were made to translate it 'unless ye fast in due order' (Clemen), 'with a material fast' (Moffatt), 'while the present order lasts,' 'a world-long fast' (Swete); but all were too forced. Emendations followed; von Gebhardt and Zahn doubted the verb νηστεύσητε, the latter quoting with approval the perversely ingenious conjecture of one of his colleagues at Erlangen, ἐὰν μνηστεύσητε, 'If you woo the world, ye shall not win the kingdom of heaven.' Others proposed to alter τὸν κόσμον. But ἐὰν μή of the second clause protects ἐὰν μή in the first, σαββατίσητε protects νηστεύσητε, and the antithesis to τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ protects the word κόσμος, as do also the extracts quoted from the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, § 5, and *Pistis Sophia*, p. 157. There can however be little doubt that the case should be altered into τοῦ κόσμου. This genitive is found in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 15, in a passage which suggests a reference to some such saying as this, μακάριοι οὗτοι εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες, not simply νηστεύοντες, but οἱ νηστεύοντες, as though they were a well-known class. It is also supported by τῶν κοσμικῶν νηστεύειν in Clem. Alex. *Ecl. Proph.* § 14. As far as I can decipher the MS., the reading of the article seems ambiguous; it might be τοῦ or τόν, but in κόσμον the ν is clear, hence the editors have probably deciphered it rightly, and we may suppose that the phrase νηστεύειν τοῦ κόσμου, which is itself rare, has been consciously or unconsciously altered by the scribe to suit the following accusatives.

The only further question of interpretation lies in the

second half; is 'keeping the Sabbath' to be understood literally or metaphorically? The majority of critics have taken the second view, and in the main rightly, for the corresponding first half, 'unless ye fast from the world,' is necessarily metaphorical; again, the unusual form *σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον*, which is not found in the LXX or in the New Testament, perhaps suggests 'the *true* Sabbath'; and lastly, the passages from Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 12 and 15, and Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 15, show that it was common with the early Christian writers, following the guidance of Isaiah, to spiritualize both fasting and Sabbath-keeping in one and the same context (N.B. especially Clem. Alex. *loc. cit.* *φυλάξας τὰ σάββατα κατὰ ἀποχὴν ἁμαρτημάτων . . . οἱ μὲν εὐνουχίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας . . . οὗτοι εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες*). There is however one objection to this view, that it leaves the meaning very ambiguous; at least if the Saying originated at any time after the question had arisen whether Christians were any longer to observe the Jewish Sabbath. If it were intended to enforce the Christian Sunday, some such phrase as *τὸ ἀληθινὸν σάββατον* would have been expected. Zahn has urged this point in favour of a literal Jewish-Christian meaning. I would suggest that it may have been a Saying of our Lord meant to be ambiguous. Suppose Him asked in private by some disciple after some public discussion on the question, 'Are we then not to fast? not to keep the Sabbath?' it would be a natural answer, 'Nay, unless you fast—with a real fasting from worldly desires—ye will not find the kingdom of God; and unless you make the Sabbath a true Sabbath ye will not see the Father.' This would mean to them *then* and be meant by the speaker to mean, 'unless you keep the *Jewish* Sabbath, in the true sense which Isaiah prescribed'; it would mean later and be meant to mean, 'unless you keep the permanent rest from sin.' The spirit of it would thus come very close to the second half of the addition of Codex Bezae to St. Luke vi. 4 *εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.*

III, IV. Nearly all critics have differed from the first editors in combining III with that which seemed to them a separate Saying in IV: and many conjectures have been made to supply the lacuna at the end. There seems to be no clear indication of the number of letters to be supplied in l. 22 of the *verso*; the number differs in the other lines between 13 and 18, so that we have considerable latitude. My own emendation was based upon Apoc. iii. 17, but it has the drawback that, in order to suit the number of letters required in the first line of the *recto*, the word *οἴδασιν* has to be divided after the *σ*, an awkward division which is not supported by the usage of the scribe elsewhere, who as a rule divides his words carefully, and avoids any division which would leave a consonant at the end of one line, followed by a vowel at the beginning of the next. Dr. Sanday's suggestion for this reason is preferable, but it is against both that Mr. Hunt tells me that in line 21 there is scarcely sufficient room for so broad a letter as M to have stood before B, and both of us feel the superiority of that of Mr. Cross. Adopting this, the saying will run:

'I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh I was seen of them[1]; and I found all men drunken, and not one did I find thirsting among them. And I feel travail of soul for the sons of men, for they are blind in heart and see not, poor and know not their poverty.'

No question of exegesis proper arises here; the meaning is quite clear: the language is coloured perhaps by Baruch iii. 34 [unless the words are there a later interpolation (Swete)], by Isaiah liii. 10, lv. 1, and the metaphorical use of *διψᾶν* in St. Mt. v. 6 and in St. John's writings. It is difficult on the other hand to decide whether the Saying is thought of as having been spoken by our Lord in His lifetime or after the resurrection. Either is possible: the aorists *ἔστην*, *ὤφθην*, *εὗρον* are possible for the earthly life,

[1] For *αὐτοῖς* after *τοῦ κόσμου* cf. 2 Cor. v. 19 *Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν.*

being protected by the aorists of St. John xvii. 4, *6 ἐδόξασα, ἐφανέρωσα*, St. Luke xiii. 34 *ἠθέλησα* (not however by those in St. Mt. xxv. 35 ff.), and the present *πονεῖ* is quite conceivable for the post-resurrection life (cf. Acts ix. 5)[1]. The real difficulty seems to lie in the words *ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην*, which suggests an antithesis to *ἐν πνεύματι* that would be unnatural at such a time. This is perhaps an insuperable objection, but it may be that some simpler statement has been modified by the language of later theology; and, if so, it would seem conceivable—say on the evening of the Feast of Tabernacles, after Jesus had made the great appeal *ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρός με καὶ πινέτω*, and perhaps also the great warning of St. John ix. 39–41—that in the intimate circle of His followers He should have used some such sad utterance as this.

V. The next Saying supplies the greatest difficulty both of reading and of interpretation.

Lines 24–26 were scarcely decipherable, but, apart from any emendation, it seemed clear that the meaning of the first part must be *either*, 'Wherever all are unbelievers and one alone is faithful, there am I with him'; *or*, 'wherever there are two disciples I am with them, and wherever one is alone, I am with him.' The two parallel clauses in the second half suggest two parallel clauses here, and therefore support the second alternative (Heinrici); and the passages quoted from Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 10 and Ephrem Syr. *Ev. Concord. Expositio*, c. 14, decide almost certainly for the second view, by showing that some such Saying was early attributed to our Lord. Of the many emendations suggested, none is quite convincing, but we have provisionally adopted the brilliant conjecture of Blass, *ὅπου ἐὰν ὦσιν β̄, οὐκ εἰσιν ἄθεοι, καὶ εἷ που εἷς ἐστὶν μόνος, λέγω ἐγώ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ*, **'Wherever there are two, they are not without God's presence, and if anywhere one is alone, I say I am**

[1] M. Batiffol solves the difficulty by supposing that we have two separate Sayings, a post-resurrection Saying (*ἔστην . . . αὐτοῖς*) joined by *καί* to a pre-resurrection Saying, *πονεῖ*, *κ.τ.λ.*

with him.' There are however doubtful points in it: the use of $\bar{\beta}$ for δύο in a simple statement, especially when εἷς is written out in full in the next line, is improbable, but cannot be pronounced impossible[1]. The insertion of λέγω is unnecessary. I hesitated also about the rather poetical meaning of ἄθεοι; but it has been suggested to me that it may be an allusion to the Pagan nickname—'they are not, as men call them, ἄθεοι'; and further, it seems to me that the reading is supported by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 10: there the heretics are stated to expound some Saying of the Lord's (*βούλεσθαι γὰρ λέγειν τὸν Κύριον ἐξηγοῦνται*) as meaning that the creator God was present with two or three, but the Saviour was present with the one elect. Now this would be a natural interpretation if, in the Saying they were quoting, the two or three were said to be not without *God's* presence (ἄθεοι), but *Christ* (ἐγώ) said to be with the one. The meaning of this will be 'where there are a few Christians or only one,' and the application may have been primarily either to common or private prayer, or perhaps to married or celibate life (cf. Clem. Alex. l. c.).

The latter half of this Saying offers no difficulty of reading, but is the most contested point of interpretation. **'Raise the stone and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood and I am there.'**

It is most strange that a striking Saying such as this, whatever its interpretation, should have left no trace of itself in subsequent literature. Possibly some may yet be found, and, most probably, in some literature emanating from Egyptian monastic life. The only clue which the passage itself supplies is that it must stand in some intelligible sequence of thought to the preceding words. No less than five suggestions have been made.

i. Dr. Swete at Cambridge, and Dr. Lisco followed by Dr. Harnack in Berlin, independently suggested that the

[1] Mr. Redpath has since pointed out to us that the scribe of Codex B of the LXX frequently uses numerals side by side with the full word, e. g. Num. xxviii. 19 *μόσχους δύο, κριὸν ἕνα, ἀμνοὺς ἐνιαυσίους ζ'*: also *ib.* xxix. 17 *χίμαρον . . . ἕνα . . . μόσχους β', κριοὺς β'*; see also Num. xxix. 15, 20, 26; Judges xx. 22 *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ*; 24 *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ β'*; 30 *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ*.

clue lay in Ecclesiastes x. 9. There the writer is speaking of the vanity and danger of manual work, 'Whoso heweth out stones shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood is endangered thereby'; and it was held that the author of this saying was consciously correcting the pessimistic utterance of the Preacher. Prof. Harnack interpreted the saying quite literally, as the blessing of the Carpenter's Son upon manual work. 'Do the simplest work, quarry stone or cut down trees, and you will find My presence with you.' Dr. Swete, starting from the same illustration, allegorized it and supposed our Lord to have applied it to the spiritual building of the Church. 'The Wisdom of God pledges Himself to be with the Christian builder, and never more so than when he builds alone and with labour and peril.' Of the two applications I should prefer the literal; but though at first sight this line of interpretation seemed to me convincing, second thoughts make me hesitate. For the allusion to the passage in Ecclesiastes would be rather obscure, even if the words were exactly the same; but as a matter of fact there is considerable change, which would be hard to explain, if there was a direct allusion to that place. Why ἐγείρειν for ἐξαίρειν? (Harnack feeling this difficulty conjectured ἐξᾶρον, but the reading seems clear); why τὸν λίθον, τὸ ξύλον for λίθους and ξύλα? why the aorist tenses? Such an allusion would almost necessitate ἔξαιρε λίθους, σχίζε ξύλα. Nor is it very likely that, without supposing an allusion, we may take Eccl. x. 9 as an illustration, to prove that the reference is to manual labour, for the aorists point to one action rather than to a regular occupation; ἐκεῖ points more naturally to the place than to the action, 'Thou shalt find Me in the stone' rather than 'in the act of raising,' for which οὕτω would be more natural than ἐκεῖ: and lastly, there seems no reason for the singulars τὸν λίθον, τὸ ξύλον.

ii. The second view, which has been most widely accepted, is that which sees in the words an assertion of Christ's presence in nature; so that the sequence of thought will be, 'In all forms of human life I am present; yea, and under

inanimate creation you will find Me.' In this case the singular will be deictic; 'Lift yonder stone, cleave yonder piece of wood.' This is an assertion of Christ's universal presence, differing only in its vividness from the language of the prologue of St. John, or of Eph. i. 23, or of Ps. cxxxviii. 7, 8: it does not deny Christ's personality or merge him in nature, though it must be admitted that it finds its closest analogies in the Gnostic writers whom we have quoted, and whose teaching tended to that issue.

iii. A third view, suggested hesitatingly by the first editors and by Dr. James, is that the stress is on the imperatives, and the Saying only enforces effort: 'You must make an effort like that of raising a stone or cleaving a tree if you wish to find Me.' But there is no stress on the need of effort in the earlier part of the saying; and this interpretation does not do justice to ἐκεῖ, nor explain the singular τὸν λίθον. It would be similar to the Greek proverb πάντα λίθον κινεῖν, but seems to require πάντα λίθον.

iv. Both these last needs are satisfied by another interpretation (Barnes), which has found little acceptance, but which seems to me to deserve more consideration, especially if the Saying is of late date, when allegory had grown common. This is that the words have a distinct reference to *the* stone of the sepulchre, *the* wood of the cross; and they are words of reassuring preparation spoken to the disciples: 'Wherever you are, together or alone, I am with you; and whatever happens, My burial or crucifixion, I am there. Lift up the stone of the tomb and you will find Me alive; pierce through the cross and you will find Me there too.'

Mr. Barnes supports this view by the mystical meaning given to Habakkuk ii. 11 in patristic writers; but the evidence for such an interpretation is very slight.

v. Other interpreters refer to the ritual of sacrifice: 'Prepare an altar, pile up the stone, cleave the wood for fire, and I shall be there in your worship.' But the illustrations of this come from patriarchal times, before the days of the fixed altar in the Temple, and again the plural would be more natural than the singular. On the whole, then,

I incline to the second view, which refers it to the presence of Christ in nature.

VI. Jesus says, '**A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither does a physician work cures on them that know him.**' This supplies no problem for interpretation: but it is of great interest with regard to the relation of the Sayings to the Synoptic Gospels, on which it is not my duty to touch. I only note that the first part is partly akin to St. Matthew and St. Mark in the phrase *οὔκ ἐστι* for *οὐδείς*; partly to St. Luke in the use of the word *δεκτός*: the second part is akin to St. Luke iv. 23, and to the thought of St. Mark vi. 3–6, but there is nothing in either half which seems to my mind sufficient to prove literary dependence. It may be an independent preservation of the same Saying, or an inaccurate quotation of its literary form.

VII. '**A city built on the top of a high hill and firmly stablished can neither fall nor be hidden.**' This combines the thought of St. Mt. v. 14 with that of vii. 24, 25, but does not compel the theory of literary dependence. The word *οἰκοδομημένη* (St. Mt. v. 14 *κειμένη*) is interesting, for though not found in any Greek MS. of the passage in St. Matthew, it seems to be pre-supposed by the early Syriac versions, by Tatian, and by a Latin version used by Hilary. We have not changed the unaugmented form *οἰκοδομημένη*, as it is supported by inscriptions and some Biblical MSS. (cf. St. Luke vi. 48 *οἰκοδομῆσθαι*, Tischdf. WH).

VIII. '**Thou hearest with one ear, but the other hast thou closed.**' This also is clear in meaning, and is mainly interesting for the ingenious restoration of the letters which were almost entirely illegible. The first editors were inclined to read *εἰς τὸ ἐνώπιον*: Dr. Swete moved a step further in the right direction, suggesting *εἰς τὸ ἐνώτιον*: and Dr. Taylor, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, divided this into *εἰς τὸ ἓν ὠτίον*—a conjecture which was made independently by Zahn and von Gebhardt. The rest of the clause was then supplied by Dr. Swete, *τὸ δὲ ἕτερον*

συνέκλεισας. We thought that ἔβυσας was a simpler and more ordinary word, though some may prefer Dr. Sanday's later suggestion, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ παρακούεις, 'You hear with one ear, but with the other you refuse to hear.'

I have confined myself to interpretation; perhaps I have shown incidentally that I incline rather more than Dr. Sanday does to the possibility that some at least of the new Sayings may be genuine, and to the theory which would see in the document a copy of some pre-canonical collection of our Lord's discourses. If this were so, they would not constitute that new Gospel which the *Spectator* dreads and which the *Daily Chronicle* welcomes; they would not seriously alter the conditions of the Synoptic problem as Mr. Rendel Harris imagines, for the prologue of St. Luke shows that there were pre-canonical documents out of which our Gospels were framed, though it is silent as to their authority; these Sayings would have as much authority as the various Agrapha have already, as much, that is, as sayings which come to us anonymously, with no convincing proof of their authorship, and without the sanction which was implied in their being embodied in a canonical Gospel. They may have been known and set aside by the writers of those Gospels, or they may have been preserved in an independent line of tradition which was unknown to them.

IV

HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE SAYINGS

[W. Sanday]

The history of this new discovery is an interesting example of the importance of the presence or absence of the definite article. The rumours which came to this country from Egypt early in the year often spoke of the finding of 'the Logia'; but I imagine that most of those who knew what it meant took the phrase with a grain of salt. However careful the discoverers might be, it was inevitable that, in passing from mouth to mouth, what was to them 'Logia' should become 'the Logia' which have played so prominent a part in critical speculation. Now that we have the published text before us, we may speak of 'the Logia' in the sense of the particular Logia under discussion, but in so doing we beg no questions as to their relation to other works to which the title has been given.

We need not, I think, question the right of the first editors, who have done their work in other respects so well, to give to their newly found fragment a title which numbers it with these. Its contents are exactly what is meant by 'Logia'—brief, authoritative, and as it were 'oracular' sayings[1]. And if 'Sayings' by itself should

[1] The writer who has demurred most to the title Λόγια is Dr. Zahn; but he does so, not because it is unsuitable in itself, but because its application to the Sayings of the Fragment is not exactly on all fours with what we know of the Λόγια of St. Matthew and of Papias. The writer in the *Athenaeum* objects that the Sayings have not the oracular character; but in that I suspect that not many of us will agree with him.

seem inadequate, it may be replied, that on a title-page and in this kind of connexion the word has necessarily come to mean 'select or memorable Sayings.' Besides, to the Christian the 'Sayings of Jesus' as such stand apart from all others, and cannot be thought of without the implication of authority.

The first real question which meets us is, What is the relation of these new Logia to the lost writings which have been hitherto known by the name? The editors, no doubt rightly, reject the hypothesis of 'any actual connexion either with the Hebrew Logia of St. Matthew or with the *λόγια κυριακά*' on which Papias commented. In this, to the best of my belief, all subsequent writers have agreed with them. The works in question are just those to which for some time past, since the discoveries of recent years began to excite fresh hopes of filling up the gaps in early Christian literature, the thoughts of scholars interested in the quest have turned most wistfully. If we could only find the true Logia of St. Matthew, either in Greek or in Hebrew, that most difficult of problems, the origin of the Synoptic Gospels, would at one stroke be solved or be put on the high road to solution; and we should at the same time have our materials for the Life of Christ carried back one step nearer to the Life itself. And if we could but recover the *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* of Papias, we should be in possession of a quantity of new material, not indeed so authentic as the Matthaean Logia, but at least dating from the period when tradition flowed still fresh and strong.

We do not know exactly what the work of Papias was. He calls it a 'Commentary on Logia of the Lord.' Probably it was an illustrative commentary in which the oral material on which Papias set special store was brought in to enrich the written material[1]. But whether the *λόγια*

[1] This description appears to correspond with the language of Papias, who speaks of ranging along with his interpretations (*συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἑρμηνείαις*) what he had well learnt and well remembered from the presbyters (Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix. 3); cf. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supern. Rel.* p. 157.

κυριακά which formed the basis of the work were, as Lightfoot, Harnack, and to some extent Zahn, suppose, our Four Gospels, or a selection of Sayings made by Papias himself, or a collection previously existing, we are not in a position to say quite positively.

In any case it is, I think we may say, certain that the Logia of which those of the newly discovered Fragment formed a part were not those of St. Matthew, and highly probable that they had no direct connexion with the work of Papias. The Sayings approximate to the type of those in the Third Gospel rather than the First, while many affinities have been pointed out to the Gospel of St. John. There are no points of contact between the new Logia and those which can be traced to Papias. And it is a far cry from Phrygia to Middle Egypt, even if we suppose that the work of Papias had a wider circulation than we have reason to think it had, or that the Logia on which it was based ever had a separate existence from the commentary.

In dismissing Papias and the Matthaean Logia the editors add that 'probably many such collections were made.' They are perhaps justified in saying this; but if so, their own discovery is the chief ground for holding the opinion. It is a tenable hypothesis that the new Logia are a specimen of a class, but whether they are so or not will need further testing. The chief direction in which this testing can be applied would be through the analysis of our existing Gospels; and this, as inquiry stands at the present moment, can hardly be said to be favourable. It is a widely held opinion that behind the common portions of our First and Third Gospels, if not behind much of our Second Gospel as well, there lies a yet earlier source which might be described by the name 'Logia[1].' But the tendency

[1] The dominant theory as to the origin of the common matter of our first three Gospels is that known as the 'Two-Document hypothesis,' according to which it is derived from (1) certain 'Notes of the Preaching of St. Peter' embodied in our Gospel of St. Mark, and (2) a collection of 'Logia' ascribed by Papias to St. Matthew. Whether this latter source was employed in our Second Gospel as well as in the other two is a point at present much debated. For some time the affirmative view was held

is to think of these Logia as something more than pure sayings, strung together in no apparent order, and with no connexion beyond the repeated λέγει Ἰησοῦς of the Fragment. If we take a narrative like the Healing of the Centurion's Servant, which is common to the two Gospels and not found in St. Mark, we see there a complete story, not an isolated saying or sayings, and partly cast into the form of dialogue. In this it is unlike the Fragment. And even those portions of the common matter of the two Gospels which are more strictly made up of sayings yet in one or both of the Gospels usually have a few words of introduction assigning them to some particular occasion. Hence the predominant view is that the Matthaean Logia were furnished with brief connecting links of this kind[1]. I say that this is the 'predominant view'; at the same time it is very generally admitted that many of the links are conjecturally inserted by the later Evangelists, especially by St. Luke. Where that was the case the source might have had nothing more definite than λέγει Ἰησοῦς. No doubt the question will be re-examined in the light of the new Fragment.

We must however also remember that the previous works of which St. Luke speaks in his Preface are described as διηγήσεις, which from his use of the word ἀνατάξασθαι we should infer to have had some connected sequence[2]. This again is a point of difference from the Fragment. Broadly speaking, we should say that the object of St. Luke's predecessors was historical, whereas the object of the work to which the Fragment belonged was didactic—and that not merely in the sense in which the other Canonical Gospels

only by Dr. B. Weiss, but it is now strenuously advocated in two essays by Resch and Titius in the volume dedicated to Weiss (*Theol. Studien, &c.*, Göttingen, 1897).

[1] Resch is of opinion that the Logia contained not only longer connected sections (of narrative as well as discourse), but also short, detached and scattered sayings, 'which were, perhaps, the pointed themes of discourses not written out in full.' He instances Mt. vii. 6 (*op. cit.* p. 114).

[2] This is on the common view that ἀνατάξασθαι = rather 'to draw up in order' than to 're-state' (M^cClellan), 'e memoria repetere et componere' (Blass).

might be called 'didactic' as having a didactic purpose running through their history. The Fragment is not part of a history at all, but is part of a collection of sayings, each recorded for its own independent value.

In any future investigation of the Synoptic Question the new Fragment is not likely to be lost sight of. At the same time the degree of weight which we attach to it will depend very much upon the extent to which we regard it as really analogous to the Matthaean Logia or to those of Papias. It will depend very much on this, but not entirely; because it is conceivable that the new document might be altogether later than either of these and less authentic in substance, and yet that it might perpetuate an older form. But the most interesting question in regard to the Fragment is just this: Are we, or are we not, to class it with the Matthaean Logia? We might perhaps express the question thus: Does it belong to the pre-canonical or to the post-canonical stage of Christian literature? We must define our terms. By 'pre-canonical' we might mean the stage anterior to the setting apart of our present Four Gospels, with a more or less sharp dividing line between them and all other writings which bore the nature of Gospels. That would be at the latest about the year 140 A.D. I did not however mean to use the word in this sense, but rather in order to draw a line between materials worked up in our Gospels and those Gospels themselves. Clearly the new Fragment contains matter which has not been so worked up. But is this new matter to be regarded as on a similar footing to that which has, or is it later and on the whole inferior?

I find myself compelled to take this latter view. I cannot think that any of the new matter represents, as it stands, a genuine saying of our Lord. This rather unqualified expression of opinion is not intended at all dogmatically, but only for the sake of clearness. If we are to put the Sayings in their place in the history of Christian thought, we must seek to do this negatively as well as positively; and the standard of comparison which offers itself first is

that of the authentic 'Oracles of the Lord.' Speaking provisionally, we may say that the Sayings appear to be the work of a single mind. This does not follow from the way in which they are strung together, but from the common quality which seems to run through them. The author starts, as a rule, from genuine sayings, but works them up in a sense of his own. There need not have been any intentional dishonesty in this. At a time when oral tradition was still flowing a man might impress his own stamp upon it almost unconsciously. The more earnest he was, the longer he had brooded over the sayings which reached him, and the deeper and stronger his own thoughts, the more likely he would be to fuse and transfuse his original and to add to it elements of his own. Something of the kind I conceive to have happened in the case of the Fourth Gospel; and the difference between the Gospel and the new Sayings I take to be that the latter do not rest upon the same basis of personal experience.

For a *terminus ad quem* we may be content with the date proposed by the editors, 140 A.D. And the *terminus a quo* may be put at the beginning of the century. Further investigation may enable us to define these limits rather more closely. Our first step may be to give reasons for not going back further, or, in other words, for not treating the Sayings as genuine.

The main arguments for possible genuineness, of which reasonable use has been made, are three in number. First, the rhythm and cast of the Sayings. This, it must be allowed, is very like that of the sayings in the Gospels. The laws of Hebrew parallelism are well observed. Due weight must be attached to this fact. It seems to show that tradition at the time when they were composed was still a living tradition. And we should be inclined to think that the Sayings received their form from one who had Semitic blood in his veins. Besides this argument there is the intrinsic excellence of the Sayings, and the extent to which they may be paralleled from others which are well authenticated.

There is truth in what is thus urged. And yet the parallels do not go far enough to be a real guarantee of genuineness. Both in this respect and in respect to the substance of the Sayings there seems to be a clear interval between these new Sayings and the certainly authentic utterances of our Lord. The Sayings have an individual stamp upon them, and a stamp which may well be called striking; but it is not His stamp. And it seems to me to belong to a later generation and to a more developed stage of reflection.

Let us take the Sayings in order. The first offers nothing for our purpose. In the second we cannot help noticing what may be called a technical use of language. The two phrases, 'unless ye fast from the world[1]' or 'renounce the world,' and 'unless ye keep the sabbath,' both seem to have this character—more so than anything of the kind that we can point to in the Gospels. Ultimately the expressions appear to be based on Isa. lviii: 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?' . . . 'And if thou . . . call the sabbath a delight, and the holy of the Lord honourable: and shalt honour it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord,' &c. It is true that 'fasting *from the world*' introduces a new idea, analogous to what we find in the Fourth Gospel. Still the base of the teaching is prophetic. No doubt the teaching of our Lord Himself also takes up that of the Prophets. But the atmosphere seems to be rather different. It would be difficult to suppose that exactly this form of expression would have occurred to one who had not been brought up under Jewish institutions. But it seems to point to a narrower and more esoteric circle than that addressed by

[1] The reading *τὸν κόσμον* in the MS. seems to be assured; but the occurrence of the exact phrase *νηστεύειν τοῦ κόσμου* in Clement of Alexandria, and of several more instances of the gen. with none of acc., justifies the emendation *τοῦ κόσμου*, and is interesting as showing that the text already has a history.

our Lord. The suggestion made in the *Athenaeum* that the Sayings are connected with the sect of the Therapeutae seems to me not very wide of the mark. I should say this with still more confidence if I believed with the writer that the Therapeutae were Christian. But to me the genuineness of the Philonic treatise *De Vita Contemplativa* seems to have been proved, especially by Mr. Conybeare and Dr. Paul Wendland [1], though there is still some opposition. I am bound therefore to regard the Therapeutae as not Christian but Jewish. They were, however, if Jewish, a Jewish sect with Christian affinities. And the discovery of these Logia would be a further reason for thinking that it was just in such circles as these that Egyptian Christianity first struck root.

The Third Logion confirms what the Second suggests. First impressions are sometimes more trustworthy than those which are derived from study and argument. And in spite of what has been said in various quarters, I cannot think that the opening words ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς could ever have come from our Lord. 'To come' or 'appear' or 'be manifested in the flesh' is a phrase which belongs to the later Apostolic age—to the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistles of St. John [2]. It is a product of reflective theology looking back upon the Incarnation, and is unlike the language which our Lord Himself used while among men. There is more analogy for the phrase 'in the midst of the world,' but even this is confined

[1] Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, Oxford, 1895; Wendland, *Die Therapeuten*, Leipzig, 1896. Mr. Conybeare's work embodies materials collected by Prof. L. Massebieau of Paris, one of the leaders in the reaction against the general discrediting of the book which followed a treatise by Prof. Lucius of Strassburg in 1879. Another of those who put in a word of quiet protest was Dr. Edersheim in the art. 'Philo' in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, and the same view is expressed by Dr. James Drummond in the *Jewish Quarterly*, 1895, pp. 155–172. The most obstinate defender of Lucius' position is Dr. Schürer (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1895, col. 385 ff., 603 f.; 1896, col. 313 ff.). I do not say that there is no case, but the better reasons seem to me to be for the genuineness of the treatise and the worse against it. The question is a touchstone of criticism.

[2] 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 John iv. 2; 2 John 7.

to the Gospel of St. John[1]. In the remainder of the Logion the technical character of the language, of which I have spoken, is still more noticeable. There are some parallels for the use of διψᾶν in a spiritual sense, but none that go as far as this. The one example from the Synoptists, 'to hunger and thirst after righteousness' (Mt. v. 6), has the object expressed. And in the passages from St. John the sense is always made clear by the context. There is no instance of the words used absolutely and alone as in the Logion[2]. Still less are there any examples of the technical use of μεθύοντες. The language is not that of our Lord or of the Church at large, but of a sect or section with Encratite leanings. Whoever it was who put this Saying into circulation knew that it would be understood without expansion or explanation.

The most natural interpretation of the aorists ἔστην, ὤφθην, εὗρον, is that they are spoken from the point of view of the period after the Resurrection. They seem to contain a retrospect of the ministry and of its effect. And this impression is not cancelled by the present πονεῖ. Now we know that many apocryphal writings took their standpoint in the time after the Resurrection. Dr. James mentions the *Pistis Sophia*, the *Books of Jeû*, the *Questions of Bartholomew*, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. To these we may probably add the Gospel of Philip, which is implied in the *Pistis Sophia* and quoted by Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxvi. 13[3].

Harnack takes the phrases ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου and ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην as presupposing the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ as the Logos. This is doubted by M. Batiffol, who would make the contrast rather between the *post*-existent state and the life on earth ('il

[1] John i. 10, iii. 17, vi. 14, ix. 39, x. 36, xi. 27, xii. 46, xvi. 28, xvii. 18, xviii. 37.

[2] On Dr. Lock's view that the words might conceivably have been spoken at the Feast of Tabernacles, a context would be supplied by the ceremonies of the Feast and the discourse suggested by them (John vii. 37). This might cover διψῶντα, but hardly μεθύοντας.

[3] Harnack, *Altchrist. Lit.* p. 14.

n'est question dans ce texte que de la post-existence du Christ par opposition à sa vie mortelle,' p. 8). But it seems fair to say that pre-existence is implied as well as post-existence. The personal existence of Him who enters into the world and becomes incarnate stretches backwards as well as forwards. The inference may not be quite so stringent as in the ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς of St. John, but it lies near at hand. The doctrine was no doubt taught by St. Paul before the Synoptic Gospels were committed to writing; but we again note the leaning of the Fragment towards the later and more developed theology.

I agree with Dr. Lock in thinking that the word and a half which the first editors numbered Logion IV was more probably than not the conclusion of Logion III. The proportions of the page make it likely that not more than a single line of text at the foot of the *verso* is missing. The wide margin at the top prepares us to expect a similar margin at the bottom. And when first the roll gave place to the *codex,* the dimensions and manner of writing of the roll appear to have been preserved. We may see this by the narrow columns of the text, which are characteristic of the oldest *codices.* The papyrus was cut in regular lengths, and the average depth was not great. It is however possible, and perhaps probable, that there were two columns of writing on a page. If so, the shape of the book would be quarto; and in that case perhaps more than one line has been lost. It must not be forgotten that if M. Batiffol is right, and the *verso* of the Fragment was the under and not the upper side of the leaf, then the text is of course not continuous. To me, however, the reasoning of the first editors seems preferable. The ragged edge of the papyrus looks more like a tear than the fraying of age; and I feel bound to accept the testimony of the first editors as to the strip pasted on to the edge. Those who have actually seen the papyrus must in such a matter be at an advantage.

The combination of πτωχός and τυφλός in Apoc. iii. 17

increases the temptation to connect *τὴν πτωχείαν* with what precedes. My own attempt to fill the gap has been given along with others; but I am not enamoured of it. The spelling *γεινώσκοντες* seems to be characteristic of the MS. (compare Log. VI); and there is abundant evidence to show that it was an early spelling. It predominates decidedly in the facsimile of Cod. Vaticanus (it occurs four times in John x. 14, 15), and it appears to hold the proportion of about 1 : 2 in the facsimile of Cod. Alexandrinus (N. T.) The number of letters to the line (14) is admissible. But I should have preferred *αὐτῶν* to *ἑαυτῶν*, which seems to be required by the vacant space. I have therefore joined in adopting the conjecture of Mr. Cross as on the whole the most attractive. It would be going too far to be very confident that it represents what was actually written.

The Fifth Logion (on the numeration of the first editors) is of all the most enigmatic. There is a double uncertainty of reading and of interpretation. Fortunately the first is somewhat diminished by the observation of Mr. Redpath (p. 23, *sup.*), for which we are much indebted to him. It appears from it that even in a calligraphic MS. like Cod. Vaticanus it is possible to have a numeral represented by a letter and another spelt out in full side by side. Our own examination of the N. T. only had not yielded any examples. Perhaps this was to be expected. Although they are not wanting, a MS. of the type of Cod. Vaticanus would naturally be sparing of such irregularities. If we could go back on the line of its ancestry, especially to the early period when the books of the N. T. were more often copied by zealous but unskilled converts than by professed scribes, they were probably much more numerous. Such a variant as that in Acts xxvii. 37 (ΕΝΤΩΠΛΟΙΩC̄O̅Σ and ΕΝΤΩΠΛΟΙΩΩC̄O̅Σ) shows that the practice of representing numbers by letters went back as far as the common archetype from which were copied the divergent lines of B and the Sahidic Version on the one hand and ℵCHL, &c., on the other. There are also well-known instances of the

symbolism found in letters standing for numbers in *Ep. Barn.* ix. 8[1] and Apoc. xiii. 18.

This evidence is quite sufficient to lend support to the otherwise attractive reading proposed by Dr. Blass, with its extension by Clemen. Of all the various ways of filling up the lacunae in the first half of the Saying these seem the best[2].

As to the interpretation of the second half, I am glad to find myself entirely at one with Dr. Lock. I should wish to adopt not only his conclusion but the arguments on which it is based. It will be unnecessary for me to repeat these. I will only add to them, that against the supposition of a *conscious* reference to Ecclesiastes (which is common to the exegesis of Harnack and Dr. Swete) is the comparatively rare use of that book and the improbability that it would be assumed to be familiar to hearers or readers. I take the text as referring to the presence of Christ as the Logos in inanimate nature as well as with the Church, even in its smallest fractions. This latter part of the Saying is peculiar, but not necessarily heterodox.

The Sixth Logion has not much to detain us. The word δεκτός is another link with the Gospel of St. Luke. The added clause, 'Neither doth a physician perform cures on them that know him,' has to me the appearance of developing a saying of our Lord's in the direction of Jewish proverbial literature like Ecclesiasticus.

Logion VII reads like a conflation of the two sayings, Mt. v. 14 and vii. 24, 25. It would be too much to maintain that our Lord Himself may not on some occasion have combined sayings which in the first instance had been spoken separately. But in view of the general character of the Logia as it has disclosed itself to us, it seems more probable that the combination is due to tradition. About the text of the saying a word will be said presently.

Logion VIII has been brilliantly restored through the

[1] Quoted by Gardthausen, *Griech. Palaeog.* p. 263.

[2] The reading λέγω is very doubtful. Dr. Blass informed me that he thought the first of the two remaining letters was Γ and not Τ.

skill of the first decipherers, who we can see from the facsimile had the merest shreds to work upon, and the happy inspiration of Dr. Swete and Dr. C. Taylor. I do not think we can dispute the epithet 'striking' which Dr. Swete applies to the saying thus obtained. At the same time it too seems on a par rather with the gnomic wisdom of the Jews than with the authentic utterances of our Lord.

We have been through the Logia with a result which seems fairly consistent. A common character appears to run through them which is sufficiently marked to enable us to localize them tentatively in place and time. But before we try to do this it may be well to take a glance over their history.

And first, looking backwards. It would be going too far to say that they implied a direct literary use of the Third and Fourth Gospels. There are rather marked points of contact with both. But it may be reasonably maintained that these are more than counterbalanced by the differences. It is not likely that the author, whoever he was, who gave the Logia their present shape had the Canonical Gospels lying open before him. He sits to them altogether too loosely. We see this not only in the large proportion of new matter, but also conspicuously in a case like that of Logion V, where we find indeed an expression characteristic of St. Luke (*δεκτός*), but where the second clause goes off into a form which, compact and symmetrical as it is, has only a remote parallel in that Gospel. The state of things on the whole is such as to be distinctly favourable to a date for the composition of the Logia earlier than that at which the Gospels acquired a fixed canonical authority. The tradition of the Lord's Sayings is still handled with considerable freedom.

But although we thus stop short of the conclusion that the Logia are consciously and deliberately built up with stones taken from our Gospels, we may yet believe that they had their origin under conditions of thought which those Gospels had created. Perhaps we ought not to lay

too much stress on the traces of written Gospels; but we find ourselves at least in an atmosphere impregnated with the teaching which is for us embodied in the Gospels.

It is often a difficult matter to decide exactly between the influence of the written and of the spoken word. If any one thought he saw in Logia I, V., VI the last deposit of a wave set in motion by our Synoptic Gospels, we might not be able to prove that he was right, but we should admit that the facts might naturally bear that construction. A still more delicate question arises out of the relation of the Logia to the Fourth Gospel, or to the group of writings which bear the name of St. John, which in any case go together. The use of *κόσμος*, *ἐν σαρκί*, *μεθύειν*, *διψᾶν*, *πτωχεία* seems redolent of these. But once more it may be redolent not of any writing but of oral teaching, and that either more or less directly. The range of Johannean teaching is indeed to me one of the problems in the history of the first century. If we believe that the Gospel was written in the Roman province of Asia, then it is hardly likely to have affected such a document as the *Didaché*. There does not seem to be time for it to travel back Eastwards and be assimilated in thought in the days when wandering apostles and prophets were a common phenomenon in the Churches. It would seem to be an easier hypothesis to suppose that the Johannean expressions found in the Eucharistic prayer of the *Didaché* came in rather through oral teaching which had its centre somewhere in Syria or Palestine before the Apostle had set out for the West. Affinities of thought in the Letters of Ignatius may have had a similar origin. The Johannean element belongs to the substance of the writer's thought, and had not been acquired yesterday or the day before at the time of his martyrdom. If there was such an earlier centre of Johannean teaching it would be nearer to the home of the author of the Logia, and we might put back the date at which the distinctive features of this teaching entered his mind further than we could do if he was dependent on the written Gospel and Epistles. But even

so, we should not expect to find the influence of St. John so clearly marked in Syria or Palestine before the year 100.

We may now descend the stream and see what traces of the Logia we can find in later history[1]. We are not surprised to find these meet us first and most clearly in Egypt. There is fairly good reason to suppose that the collection was known to Clement of Alexandria, who flourished *circa* 190–200 A. D. It is not likely that the phrase *νηστεύειν τοῦ κόσμου* was formulated by him for the first time. On the other hand, it may naturally enough have come into use through this collection. And the probability of Clement's acquaintance with it is increased by his apparent knowledge of the Saying, 'Where there is but one, I am with him.' Clement appears to have in view not his own Gospels, but the commentary of certain Encratite Gnostics (see above, p. 23). It is conceivable that the Saying quoted by Origen and aptly referred to by Dr. James and M. Batiffol, *Διὰ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἠσθένουν . . . καὶ διὰ τοὺς διψῶντας ἐδίψων*, came from the same source as these Logia.

There are perhaps fainter examples of their use from the region of Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the early forms of the Syriac Version. Here too we come upon a trace of *ubi unus est*, and, what is perhaps of less importance, of the city 'built' on a hill. If this last coincidence had stood alone we could not have laid much stress upon it, because the rest of the clause is so divergent as to suggest that the compiler was drawing upon oral tradition and was not directly influenced by the Canonical Gospel. In the case of the Syriac Versions 'built' is such a natural paraphrase for 'set,' and comes so well within the range of the freedom which the early forms of the Version allow themselves, that the coincidence might be accidental.

[1] It is indeed strange that there should be no signs in literature of the remarkable saying, 'Raise the stone,' &c. But we must remember that several Agrapha, hardly less remarkable, rest upon a single quotation (e.g. *ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει κ.τ.λ.*). If that one quotation had been wanting, the saying would have been lost sight of altogether.

Taking, however, the two Logia together, there seems to be some probability that the collection had a certain circulation in Syria. And when we remind ourselves further of the elegant Hebraistic form in which the Sayings are cast, the question may well be raised whether Syria or Palestine may not have been their place of origin. The possibility must be reckoned with. Still I incline on the whole to Alexandria. If we took a pair of compasses and placed them on the map with one limb pointing up the Nile to Oxyrhynchus, and the other limb pointing toward Antioch and Syria, the pivot on which both turned would naturally lie in the position of Alexandria. And the peculiar tone of thought, characteristic of the Sayings, is such as we should look for in the same region. Whatever we may think about the view that the Sayings are extracted from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, they may well have had their birth in proximity to it. The Jewish cast about them would seem to indicate the Jewish quarter of Alexandria, or the more salubrious air of the environs where we are told that the Therapeutae had their settlement. The date I should be inclined to put about 120 A.D.—not earlier, or not much earlier, to give time for the development of thought as we see it by comparison with the Canonical Gospels; and not much later, because we seem to be still within the period of living and actively formative tradition.

Such are the kind of conditions under which I conceive that the Sayings took the shape in which we find them. But there remains the further and subordinate question: What relation does the Fragment which has just been brought to light bear to the original Sayings? Was it a direct copy of the Sayings, or did it belong to a collection of excerpts? The two leading scholars in Germany, Dr. Harnack and Dr. Zahn, both hold this latter view, and in England they have an ally in Dr. M. R. James.

Dr. Harnack's opinion is definite. He thinks that the Sayings came from the Gospel according to the Egyptians.

This is a very natural quarter in which to look. There is a distinct resemblance between the Logia and what we know of this Gospel. It was not, or at least not markedly, heterodox. It had Encratite leanings, and was used by the party in the Church which went by that name. It is described by Epiphanius as containing many things 'put into the mouth of the Saviour, and said as in a corner mystically' (ὡς ἐν παραβύστῳ μυστηριώδως ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Σωτῆρος, *Haer.* lxii. 2), i.e. it was esoteric and mystical in tone.

Still, if the Sayings of the Fragment came from this Gospel, they must at least have been modified a good deal in the process. The extracts which can with certainty be referred to the Gospel are more like our Canonical Gospels, a regular narrative with dialogue, not a string of disconnected oracular sayings. Harnack therefore thinks that the Sayings have been deliberately culled from the Gospel, with the links of narrative left out. He believes that they were put together not for private or learned, but for public use. Precisely what kind of use he does not specify further, but he thinks that if the object had been private the introductory formula would have been, as in the Catenae, τοῦ αὐτοῦ or τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, rather than the solemn λέγει Ἰησοῦς.

Dr. Zahn does not exactly share this view. He says that collections of excerpts of this kind 'were in the time of Pantaenus, Clement, Origen, and Heraclas not at all uncommon.' He adds that they were put together for other purposes than private study, instancing the ἐκλογαί from the Old Testament of Melito of Sardis (Eus. *H. E.* IV. xxvi. 13) and Serapion's extracts from the Gospel of Peter (ibid. VI. xii. 6)[1].

Zahn would find the source of the excerpts in the Gospel used by the Ebionites, which he would identify with the

[1] Neither of these is really quite in point. The first would rather come under the head of *Testimonia*, like Cyprian's three books *ad Quirinum*; and Serapion's is a list of faulty passages from the Gospel appended to his letter by way of warning. These differences were, I believe, worked out at length by Mr. Grenfell at a Meeting of the Society of Historical Theology.

'Gospel of the Twelve' mentioned by Origen[1]. The chief traces of the Ebionite Gospel are to be seen in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx. It is thought to have, in common with the Fragment, its relation to the Canonical Gospels, especially St. Luke, and its freedom in departing from them. Zahn would date the Gospel about the year 170, and would refer it to the same circle as the pseudo-Clementine writings and the translator Symmachus. If the Logia came from Syria or Palestine, there would be some ground for looking in this direction. Zahn's main reason for choosing it is the strongly Jewish-Christian character which he ascribes to Logion II. But, on the other hand, we may well doubt whether an Ebionite Gospel, even of the type of the Clementines, is likely to have had so high a doctrine of the Person of Christ as is implied in the next two Logia. I have also stated above my reasons for thinking that the Sayings are really earlier in character than *circa* 170.

The theories of Harnack and Zahn are neither of them convincing. The chief object of regarding the Logia as excerpts appears to be in order to be able to refer them to some known source, and in particular to a Gospel, though their structure is unlike that of any Gospel with which we are acquainted. But even if the success of their attempt were clearer than it is, the remarkable formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς would still be imperfectly accounted for.

In this seems to lie the real heart of the enigma. There is nothing exactly parallel to it in its repetition before (or possibly, as Harnack thinks, after) each Saying. We are driven to guess, and our guesses are very much in the dark. At an early stage in the discussions Mr. Vernon Bartlet pointed to the analogy of the *Didaché* or 'Two Ways.' He seemed to think that the Sayings had been drawn up like this document for purposes of catechetical instruction. Or, varying a little upon this, we might suggest that a Christian philosopher had made for his own use and for that of others a collection of Aphorisms to which the instinct of reverence led him to give this particular form.

[1] *Schol. in Luc.* i. 1 (ap. Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kan.* ii. 267, 265).

Or, more on the lines of Harnack, we might think (as I was inclined to do at first) of some act of worship like the Gnostic mysteries, in which the 'Oracles of Jesus' were solemnly repeated, after the manner of the 'comfortable words' in our own Communion Service.

But the analogy which I am inclined to think the nearest is suggested to me by a remark made by the Rev. C. F. Burney[1]. Speaking as a Hebraist, he tells me

[1] Mr. Burney shall express his own views on the philology of the question :—

'The use of the present tense in this introductory formula (Λέγει Ἰησοῦς) appears to be susceptible of a simple explanation—the theory of translation from a Neo-Hebrew or Aramaic original.

'Supposing these Logia to be represented, not as sentences spoken once only by our Lord, but as His proverbial sayings, the natural formula of introduction would be "Jesus *used to say*."

'Such a formula would certainly in Neo-Hebrew be represented in one of two ways :—(1) by the participle coupled with the substantive verb, or (2) more briefly, by the participle alone.

'A number of instances may be gathered from the Mishna treatise *Pirqê 'Abhôth*, "The Sayings of the Fathers." Thus in I. 4 יוֹסִי בֶן־יוֹעֶזֶר אִישׁ צְרֵדָה אוֹמֵר "Yosê ben-Yo'ezer, a man of Zereda, said" (participle); 5 יוסי בן יוחנן אִישׁ יְרוּשָׁלַיִם אוֹמֵר, "Yosê ben-Yoḥanan, a man of Jerusalem, said" (part.); and so in 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and constantly. In cases where a second saying of any Father is recorded, this is usually introduced, without repetition of the name, by the pronoun with the participle and substantive verb. So in I. 12, 13 הוּא הָיָה אוֹמֵר . . . . הִלֵּל אוֹמֵר "Hillel said (part.) . . . . He used to say." Cf. 15, II. 4 a, 5 *al.* But in every case in which the proper name occurs, the participle *without the substantive verb* is used.

'In Aram. I believe that "used to say" would always be expressed by the substantive verb with the participle—a construction which would not so easily lend itself to translation by the Greek present : e. g. *Acta Martyrum*, ii. 323 ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ (ستعمل) "The beasts *used* not *to say* anything to the sons of men."

'I have noticed, however, an instance of a saying of our Lord quoted *as Scripture* and so introduced by the bare participle : *Didascalia*, p. 2, l. 19 ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܪܚܡܘ ܠܣܢܝܟܘܢ "And again He said (*or* saith) in the Gospel, 'Love those who hate you.'"

'Now, supposing the introductory formula of our Logia to have been written in N.-H. יֵשׁוּעַ אוֹמֵר ', or in Aram. אָמַר ', אֲמַר ', "Jesus *used to say*," or "Jesus *said*" (*saith*, quoting as Scripture), the participle alone being used, a translator may very easily have considered that the best equivalent in Greek for the verb was the present tense, and so have rendered λέγει Ἰησοῦς.

C. F. B.'

that the formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς might naturally represent the common formula of citation employed in the Talmud, as we see it in the early treatise *Pirqe 'Aboth*, or 'Sayings of the Jewish Fathers': 'Hillel said, Be of the disciples of Aaron; loving peace, and pursuing peace; loving mankind, and bringing them nigh to the Thorah.' 'Shammai said, Make thy Thorah an ordinance; say little and do much; and receive every man with a pleasant expression of countenance,' and so on[1]. I doubt if we are likely to get nearer than this. The 'Sayings of the Jewish Fathers' are really many of them 'memorable sayings'; and a Rabbi who had embraced Christianity, or a 'philosopher' in contact with Rabbis as in the Talmudical story quoted by Dr. Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, i. 58[2], would naturally collect the Sayings of his Master in the manner familiar to him. Even so we have not a parallel for the repetition of the name before each citation; but the collection of strings of Sayings is characteristically Jewish.

This observation may well come in to reinforce the arguments for the Palestinian origin of the Logia. Taken altogether, the arguments for that conclusion are not inconsiderable. But there was a cultivated Judaism at Alexandria as well as in Palestine, and the tone of thought expressed in the Sayings appears to be Alexandrian rather than Palestinian. We could imagine that they were in the succession of the Wisdom of Solomon with a tinge from the Wisdom of Sirach. If we are right in connecting them with Christian Therapeutae, they give us a glimpse into a circle which we may be sure must have existed, though we have no direct evidence of it. It is the great interest of the Logia that in any case they introduce us to a side-growth of primitive Christianity which has hitherto been hidden.

With an imperfect text, with interpretation in part

[1] See the well-known and excellent edition by Dr. C. Taylor which, I believe, is shortly to appear in an enlarged form.

[2] Dr. Neubauer tells us that 'philosopher' is the Talmudical name for a Christian doctor.

uncertain, and with parallels which fail us just at the most critical point, no conclusions can be put forward as possessing more than a higher probability; but I have indicated the alternatives which seem to me best to suit the data and the choice which I should, as at present advised, be inclined to make between them. At the same time I regard the two hypotheses of Egyptian and Palestinian origin as real alternatives; and I have swayed from one side to the other in the process of writing. Between a Graeco-Egyptian Jew under Palestinian influence and a Palestinian Jew under Graeco-Egyptian influence the difference is not very great. In either case the author is a Jew who has heartily embraced Christianity.

OXFORD
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

DATE DUE

LIBRARY RULES

1. **No book may be taken from the library without being charged to the borrower.** Borrowers are responsible for any damage done to the volumes while in their possession and are expected to make good all losses.

2. (a) **Reserve Books** may be borrowed for a period of two hours. In case no call has been made in the interval, books may be renewed for a second two hours.

   (b) Reserve books taken at 10 p.m. Mondays to Fridays are due at 9 o'clock the next morning. A reserve book taken from the library at 12 m. Saturday is due at 9 a.m. the following Monday.

3. Books not on reserve may be drawn from the library for two weeks and may be renewed once for the same period, except one-day books.

4. A fine of five cents a day will be charged on each book which is not returned according to the above rule.

5. **MAGAZINES ARE NOT** to be taken from the library.

6. Infringement of these rules may lead to withdrawal of library privileges.

3 2400 00391 4763